Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

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that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

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162 One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants [439] of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Incara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have [439] shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

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The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

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The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

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233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less
close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their
[234] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the chil-
dren from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them
• [235] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from
whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous
progeny.

[236] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20
[237] sheep (ušа), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas
(uwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut
in the ear.

[238] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on
/161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark
the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal
which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the
members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with
232 rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals,
which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I
have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye with-
out its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the
233 whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for
[240] this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and
all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the
224 meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the
occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the
meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from
time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their
[231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied
by a certain religious ceremony.

1 [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]